The intergenerational reproduction of cultural capital

Kraaykamp, G.; Eijck, K. van

Published in:
Social Forces

DOI:
10.1353/sof.2010.0087

The Intergenerational Reproduction of Cultural Capital: A Threefold Perspective

Gerbert Kraaykamp
Koen van Eijck

Social Forces, Volume 89, Number 1, September 2010, pp. 209-231 (Article)

Published by Oxford University Press
DOI: 10.1353/sof.2010.0087

The Intergenerational Reproduction of Cultural Capital: A Threefold Perspective

Gerbert Kraaykamp, *Radboud University Nijmegen*
Koen van Eijck, *Erasmus University Rotterdam*

Empirical studies on cultural capital have never fully operationalized the concept using indicators of all three states distinguished by Bourdieu, i.e., institutionalized, embodied and objectified cultural capital. We provide such a threefold measurement for both respondents and their parents in our analysis of the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital. Respondents' schooling levels (institutionalized state) are affected by parental education and, to a lesser extent, parental cultural behavior, but both effects are smaller among younger generations. Cultural participation (embodied state) is consistently affected by all three manifestations of parental cultural capital. Possessing cultural goods (objectified state) is mostly affected by parents' cultural possessions. Our results reveal that the three states of cultural capital differ in the constellation of their causes and consequences, plus the changes therein.

Introduction

The concept of cultural capital is multi-facetted and serves many analytical purposes. It is therefore a much debated concept that is used in numerous different, if not contradictory, ways in empirical research (Lamont and Lareau 1988; Holt 1997; Kingston 2001). In order to serve their research aims, scholars have often conveniently picked one of the three manifestations of cultural capital distinguished by Bourdieu (1986), which are the embodied state, the institutionalized state and the objectified state. In many studies, a partial operationalization of cultural capital is employed, which is then interpreted as if it were a *pars pro toto* for the entire concept (see Lareau and Weininger 2003; Sullivan 2001).

When studying cultural reproduction, the most elaborate studies measure effects of parental cultural capital in its institutionalized (education) as well as its embodied (cultural participation or taste) state on children's educational attainment (DiMaggio 1982; De Graaf 1986; Kalmijn and Kraaykamp 1996; Aschaffenburg and Maas 1997; Van Eijck 1997; De Graaf et al. 2000; Sullivan 2001). Yet, in other instances, cultural capital is represented solely by parental or respondents' own schooling level (Robinson and Garnier 1985; Anheier et al. 2004) which, according to Bourdieu, only represents its institutionalized state. Studies focusing on cultural goods as a component of cultural capital (the objectified state) are most rare (Ganzeboom et al. 1990; Halle 1992; Pellerin and Stearns 2001). More popular sociologist such as Veblen (1953[1899]) and Packard (1959), however, quite nicely illustrate the socially distinctive function

Direct correspondence to Gerbert Kraaykamp, Department of Sociology, Radboud University Nijmegen, P.O. Box 9104, 6500 HE Nijmegen, the Netherlands. E-mail: G.Kraaykamp@maw.ru.nl.

Social Forces 89(1) 209–232, September 2010

of possessing art works and antique interiors. In none of these examples, however, has cultural capital been measured in its full breadth.

In this article, we compare the three states of cultural capital in the process of the intra- and intergenerational transmission of resources. We analyze the impact on children of parental institutionalized, embodied and objectified cultural capital on each of these forms of cultural capital, taking into account the process of intragenerational transformations of cultural capital. We also address to what extent the effects of one type of cultural capital are mediated by another and test if processes of intergenerational transmission have changed over time.

Cultural Capital: A Threefold Perspective

The concept of cultural capital (Bourdieu 1984) is of crucial importance for our understanding of cultural taste development and the reproduction of life chances (Lamont and Lareau 1988). Although the term 'cultural capital' suggests that we are dealing with a singular concept, this is clearly not the case. The *embodied* state refers to cultural capital in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body (Bourdieu 1986). In the embodied state, the creation or conception of cultural capital is closely related to cultivation or *Bildung*, which presupposes a long-lasting process of embodiment or incorporation that requires personal effort. Therefore, embodied cultural capital is very much tied to an individual body, including the brain. It is, according to Bourdieu (1986:244-45), "external wealth converted to an integral part of the person, into a habitus," and therefore "cannot be transmitted instantaneously (unlike money, property rights, or even titles of nobility) by gift or bequest, purchase or exchange." Embodied cultural capital is accumulated in a lifelong process of socialization and it takes place in large part unconsciously. An early cultural socialization provided by parents is likely to leave its marks during the rest of one's life (e.g., pronunciation that reveals class or region of origin). And it is exactly because the accumulation of embodied cultural capital covers the entire socialization period, thereby creating cultural distinctions that feel like natural differences, that the reproduction of embodied cultural capital is the best hidden form of intergenerational capital transmission. This makes the process of its reproduction all the more powerful.

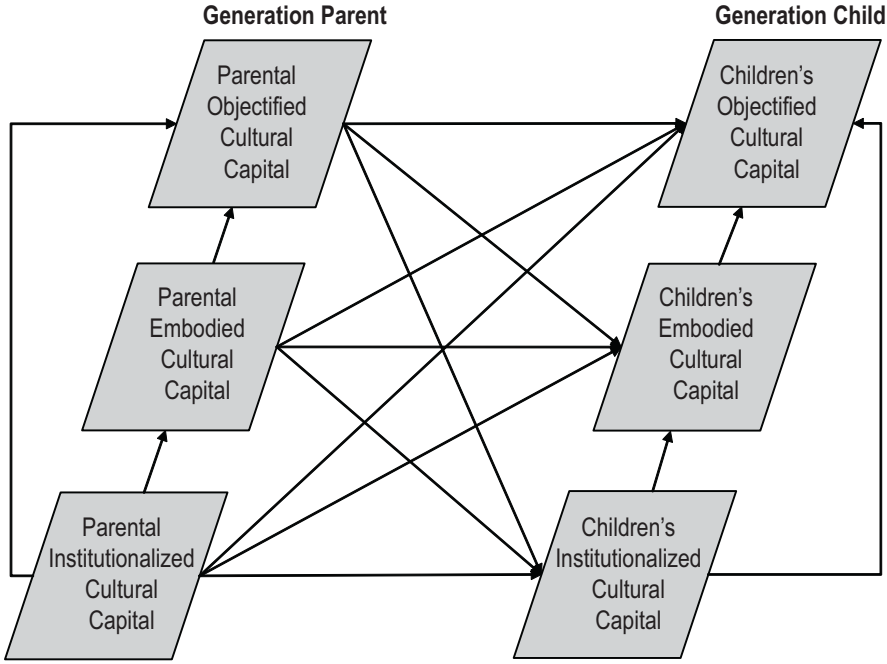
The biological limits of capital in the embodied form are transcended by cultural capital in the *institutionalized* form. This form refers mostly to educational credentials. Bourdieu (1986:243) calls the institutionalized state of cultural capital "a form of objectification which must be set apart because… it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee." By this he probably means that educational qualifications are formally independent of their bearer. The educational system manages to impose recognition of an agent's cultural capital, which makes agents comparable, if not exchangeable. According to Bourdieu and Passeron (1977), school success is strongly determined by the embodied cultural capital students bring from their families of origin. Yet, because

educational differences tend to be unjustly attributed to differential ability rather than to cultural resources transmitted within the family, Bourdieu (1977) argues that, to some extent, academic credentials serve to legitimate the social transmission of privileges. This may be described as the cultural counterpart of money laundering where, despite their meritocratic claims, schools transform cultural capital that is in large part determined by social class into credentials that are associated with individual talent and hard work.

Finally, the *objectified* state of cultural capital refers to "cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.)."(Bourdieu 1986:243) The possession of cultural objects so far has received little attention in the cultural capital or cultural reproduction literature. But if we want to cover all manifestations or meanings of cultural capital as intended by Bourdieu (1986), we need to take the objective state of cultural capital into account as well. It differs considerably from the other two states. Unlike embodied or institutionalized cultural capital, objectified cultural capital can be immediately transmitted. However, this transmissibility only applies to the material objects themselves (e.g., books, paintings) and not to the way in which these objects are to be appreciated (which, again, draws upon embodied cultural capital). Indeed, manifestations of objectified cultural capital are, as Bourdieu (1985:15) says, "a two-faced reality, a commodity and a symbolic object. Their specifically cultural value and their commercial value remain relatively independent, although the economic sanction may come to reinforce their cultural consecration." As far as we know, the possession of cultural goods has never played a large role in research on the intergenerational transmission of cultural capital.

Lamont and Lareau (1988) demonstrate that, throughout their various publications, Bourdieu and his co-authors have been using the term cultural capital in different ways, referring to the following different functions: an informal academic standard, a class attribute, a basis for social selection and a resource for power which is salient as an indicator/basis of class positions. In fact, even when discussing the three forms of cultural capital, Bourdieu (1986:243) seems a bit uncomfortable with his attempt at conceptual demarcation, saying that the reader "should not be misled by the somewhat peremptory air which the effort at axiomization may give to my argument." But, clearly, the three distinguished forms of cultural capital cannot each perform all of the functions mentioned above. Therefore, Lamont and Lareau propose to limit the definition of cultural capital to what they consider the most important and original aspects of the concept: widely shared, high status cultural signals (attitudes, preferences, formal knowledge, behaviors, goods and credentials) used for social and cultural exclusion (Lamont and Lareau 1988). The high status cultural signals mentioned in this definition do not necessarily refer to *highbrow* culture (Lareau and Weininger 2003), but it is noted that most empirical research has taken up this interpretation of cultural capital. Also, much empirical research has separated the embodied state of cultural capital from measures of academic performance (institutionalized state).

Figure 1. Schematic Visualization of the Reproduction of Institutionalized, Embodied and Objectified Cultural Capital over Generations



In this research, we limit cultural capital indicators to legitimate or high status cultural signals, even though we agree with Lareau and Weininger (2003) that the concept of cultural capital does not preclude the inclusion of more popular elements. A popular taste may also constitute a specific type of cultural capital, although it may be in some respects less valuable, or the returns may come in another currency than the one guaranteeing the highest conversion rate. Especially the combination of legitimate and popular culture is considered as a valuable form of cultural capital today (Peterson 1992; Bryson 1996; Erickson 1996).

Hypotheses

Theoretically, the three forms of parental cultural capital may affect each of the three forms of capital in their children in the process of intergenerational reproduction. Studies analyzing such effects make clear that some strong positive relations exist. Figure 1 displays the expected associations between the various forms of capital.

First and foremost, parents' institutionalized cultural capital, i.e., their schooling level, affects the schooling levels of their children. Several processes may explain this relation. Highly educated parents will be more familiar with the system of higher education and more convinced of its benefits (Connell 2004; Van de Werfhorst and Hofstede 2007). They are therefore more likely to stimulate their children to do well in school by, e.g., helping them with their homework or

creating a positive learning environment in the home (Jeynes 2005; Ratelle et al. 2005; Hango 2007). Also, intelligence is likely to be partly genetically determined (Plomin and Spinath 2002), and will therefore contribute to intergenerational educational reproduction (cf., Deary et al. 2007).

In addition, parental schooling may be related to participation in highbrow culture and the possession of cultural goods. An intellectual home climate furthers the development of a taste for highbrow culture, including a greater propensity to enjoy and thus purchase cultural goods. Research has shown significant effects of parental educational level on literary reading and attending cultural events even when individual features are taken into account (Van Eijck 1999; Kraaykamp and Nieuwbeerta 2000; Kraaykamp et al. 2007). This leads to Hypothesis 1: *Parental institutionalized cultural capital positively affects respondents' educational attainment, cultural participation and the possession of cultural goods*.

Many empirical analyses have demonstrated the strong impact of parental embodied cultural capital (i.e., cultural participation, cultural taste) on their children's level of cultural capital. First, a large body of research testing cultural reproduction indicates that parental highbrow cultural participation affects a child's school career (DiMaggio 1982; De Graaf 1986; Aschaffenburg and Maas 1997; De Graaf et al. 2000; Sirin 2005). This effect may have several underlying causes. Bourdieu and Passeron (1977) mention the match between family climate and the school environment, where students who feel more at home in school perform better. Bernstein (1977) refers to differences in language mastery between children from different cultural and socio-economic backgrounds. Willis (1977) suggests that students' attitudes towards school depend on their assessment of the future returns of their educational efforts. All these authors stress that students bring different cultural resources from their family background into the classroom and that these resources affect school success.

Second, culturally active parents increase their children's embodied cultural capital. They function as a direct example for their children. Culturally active parents are inclined to bring their children into contact with highbrow culture at an early age, when such socializing experiences are most likely to stick. Without early socialization in the arts, it seems difficult for people to develop a taste for legitimate culture. Arts appreciation requires a serious time investment that is most effective when it is a natural part of family socialization. In order to be passed on successfully, culture should be a self-evident component of family life, which is why actual parental cultural behavior is an excellent, and much used, proxy for measuring this state of cultural capital. Various studies demonstrate the association between parental cultural participation and cultural participation in the next generation (Mohr and DiMaggio 1995; Van Eijck 1997; Kraaykamp and Nieuwbeerta 2000; Kraaykamp 2003).

Third, it may be proposed that parental embodied cultural capital also affects their children's possession of cultural goods. If highbrow cultural socialization during childhood fosters the appreciation of cultural products, a preference for

antique furniture or art objects in the home is probably positively related to parental cultural inducement. Consequently, Hypothesis 2 reads: *Parental embodied cultural capital positively affects respondents' educational attainment, cultural participation and the possession of cultural goods.*

It has been well-established that embodied and institutionalized cultural capital go hand in hand at the intra-generational level (DiMaggio and Useem 1978; Lizardo and Skiles 2008). We therefore expect the relationship between parents' schooling levels and the three states of cultural capital for their children to drop after parental cultural participation has been taken into account, albeit to different degrees. When it comes to educational attainment, the effect of parental schooling on children's schooling will be only partially mediated by parental embodied cultural capital. Earlier studies have shown that including parents' embodied cultural capital (cultural participation) into multivariate models leads to a reduction in the effects of their schooling levels of 30-40 percent (Kalmijn and Kraaykamp 1996; De Graaf et al. 2000). The situation is likely to be different for the intergenerational transmission of cultural behavior. Here, we expect the impact of parental education on children's cultural participation to be mediated by parents' cultural participation to a much larger extent, if not entirely. The reason for this lies in the direct influence of imitation that is often assumed to be central in socialization practices (Bandura and Walters 1963; Kraaykamp 2003). This socialization practice, where parents function as examples, makes certain cultural practices seem normal for children who unconsciously incorporate them into their own lives. For the possession of cultural goods, the situation is less straightforward. Here too, however, it is likely that part of the effect of parental institutionalized capital runs through parental embodied cultural capital. For enjoying cultural objects it is necessary to have some cultural competence, a basic part of which is probably provided through parents' cultural practices. Therefore, Hypothesis 3 is: *Parental embodied cultural capital mediates part of the impact of parental institutionalized capital on respondents' educational attainment, cultural participation and the possession of cultural goods.*

Many studies make clear that embodied and institutionalized cultural capital are closely intertwined. The main difference is that, once acquired, institutionalized capital in the form of educational credentials becomes a universal token of specific qualities. But both embodied and institutionalized cultural capital represents skills, tastes or attitudes that require the investment of time and energy. This is also the main attribute that makes these forms differ from objectified cultural capital, the material acquisition of which requires primarily economic capital. Therefore, objectified cultural capital can be easily transmitted between persons who dispose of material resources. But unlike its material appropriation, its symbolic appropriation, or the ability to appreciate or consume art objects, presupposes cultural capital in its embodied form. According to Bourdieu (1984:247), only when ownership of objectified cultural capital is accompanied by a symbolic appropriation or mastery of the object, can objectified cultural capital be consid-

ered as "a weapon and a stake in the struggles which go on in the fields of cultural production […] and, beyond them, the field of the social classes – struggles in which the agents wield strengths and obtain profits proportionate to their mastery of this objectified capital, and therefore to the extent of their embodied capital." Previous empirical research on cultural capital tends to disregard the objectified state of cultural capital. We nevertheless expect small but significant effects of the possession of cultural goods by parents on the cultural capital of their children. These may evince in their educational career, in their preferences for highbrow culture or, most obviously, in their own preference for cultural goods. The latter relation may even be indicative of a direct intergenerational transmission of cultural goods through actual inheritance or gifts. Hypothesis 4 therefore states: *Parental objectified cultural capital positively affects respondents' educational attainment, cultural participation and the possession of cultural goods.*

We have assumed that associations of the three states of parental cultural capital with children's educational attainment, cultural participation and the possession of cultural goods are stable over time. There are, however, good reasons to expect changes in these effects. Two different points of view can be discerned. First, several studies point at a growing openness in modern Western societies (Lenski 1966; Ganzeboom et al. 1990; De Graaf and Ganzeboom 1993). Note that Shavit and Blossfeld (1993) demonstrated that, among the 13 countries included in their book, especially Sweden and the Netherlands showed growing intergenerational openness. This makes the Netherlands an interesting case to study for changes in cultural reproduction. Regarding the specific relation between class and culture, it is proclaimed that cultural taste is increasingly a matter of free choice, which suggests that relations with social background have diminished (Featherstone 1991; Pakulski and Waters 1996). Possible reasons for the erosion of the social basis of taste are the increased influence of media exposure, the professionalization and increasing differentiation of the labor market, the overall mobility that makes social networks more unstable and fluid, and growing consumerism (Beck 1992; Kellner 1995; Sennett 1998; Rifkin 2000). Van Eijck and Knulst (2005) found that effects of schooling level on highbrow cultural participation have declined for Dutch cohorts born after 1955. If taste is increasingly a matter of choice, this implies that, today, aspects of cultural capital will be less affected by institutionalized, embodied and objectified aspects of parental cultural capital than in the past. Thus, Hypothesis 5 is: *The effects of parental institutionalized, embodied and objectified cultural capital on respondents' educational attainment, cultural participation and the possession of cultural goods have decreased over cohorts.*

Although the decline of class has been put forward eloquently, most empirical studies do not point towards the dissolution of social structures. Social categories still explain a substantial part of people's cultural behavior (Warde 1997; Bottero 2004; Coulangeon and Lemel 2007), and parental socialization still seems highly influential when looking at children's preferences. For example, Dimaggio and

Mukthar (2004) find increasing social inequality with respect to participation in highbrow arts events over the last two decades of the 20th century in the United States. Van Eijck and Bargeman (2004) explain a similar increase in the impact of a number of background indicators on lifestyles by the rising focus on knowledge as a differentiating mechanism in modern society; intellectual or cultural skills are becoming increasingly important determinants of people's cultural and leisure pursuits. Since aspects of a cultural socialization are strongly associated with the nurturing of competence in children, this reasoning leads one to expect larger effects of the three states of cultural capital over time. Lizardo (2008) states that modern Western societies have moved from a system based on economic class differences to an embodied cultural capital regime where social status is primarily based on cultural rather than economic capital. Bourdieu (1986) points at an analogous trend when he considers parents' investments in cultural capital to be a strategy compensating for decreased opportunities in the direct intergenerational transmission of status. Since the early 1950s, governmental policies have been directed at providing greater possibilities for the lower classes to reach higher positions by limiting direct inheritance of custody, subsidizing school enrolment and proclaiming progressive tax systems. Given those threats to direct status transmission, the best way for the higher classes to protect their position was to shift their focus towards cultural capital and their role in the process of the intergenerational reproduction of resources. So, in contrast, Hypothesis 6 states: *The effects of parental institutionalized, embodied and objectified cultural capital on respondents' educational attainment, cultural participation and the possession of cultural goods have increased over cohorts.*

Data and Measurement

Data

We test our expectations regarding the effects of the three states of parents' cultural capital on the cultural capital of their children using the Family Survey Dutch Population (De Graaf et al. 1998, 2000, 2003). The FSDP is a periodic large scale survey performed in the Netherlands. It is unique in that it registers through respondent reports features of the family of origin and the complete life courses of primary respondents and their partners with respect to education, occupation and marriage. Response rates for the 1998, 2000 and 2003 waves were 47 percent, 41 percent and 53 percent. Because the interviews of the FSDP are lengthy (more than an hour) and both partners had to be interviewed, the reported response rates (for both spouses participating in all parts of the survey) between 41 and 53 percent may be regarded as relatively high. In the FSDP surveys, primary respondents and their partners were questioned using a face-to-face, computer-assisted interview and an additional written questionnaire. Respondents in all surveys were selected from a random sample of the Dutch adult population 18 to 70 years of age. The formulation of the questions and the format of the surveys are highly comparable over time. The data not only contain information on occupational positions, social background and family struc-

ture, but also include several questions on aspects of cultural capital. The measures of cultural capital are virtually identical when it comes to respondents' own behavior or taste and that of their parents during the respondents' adolescence (respondent reports). We only selected respondents with valid scores on all relevant variables. Because primary and secondary respondents were raised in different families and therefore experienced different cultural socialization processes, we chose to include information on both partners in our analyses.[1] Consequently, we have information on 4,809 individuals available for our analyses.

The fact that parental cultural capital was assessed through our primary respondents may cause some bias. Random measurement errors presumably will lead to an underestimation of the effects of parental cultural capital, whereas expected correlations between measurement errors of parents' and respondents' cultural capital indicators are likely to yield overestimation. What this implies on balance for our analyses is hard to say. Analyzing the same FSDP data, De Vries and De Graaf (2008) found that the total effect of parental resources is likely to be underestimated without correcting for measurement errors, whereas the direct effects show no appreciable bias after respondent's own schooling level is controlled for, as is the case in our analyses.

Measurements

For both respondents and their parents, we measured the three manifestations of cultural capital: educational attainment (institutionalized), cultural behavior (embodied) and cultural possessions (objectified). Information on the parents was gathered from the respondents reporting on the situation in their parental home when they were 12 to 15 years of age.

Institutionalized cultural capital was measured as educational attainment in years. The highest educational level of respondents was asked in 10 categories ranging from no primary school to doctorate degree. We recoded this variable into the minimum number of years required to obtain a degree at that level, resulting in a scale ranging from 5 to 21 years. The same procedure was used to code parental education in years. The parent with the highest schooling level was taken to represent the parental education variable. For both educational scales we subtracted six years, which means that 'primary school only' represents zero.

Embodied cultural capital was measured as highbrow cultural behavior. Respondents were asked how often they went to classical concerts, historical museums, art museums, popular theatre (cabaret, comedy) and serious theatre (drama, plays).[2] Answering categories varied from zero to more than six times a year. We constructed a scale representing the average score on these five items (α = .73). The final scale was standardized calculating rank scores between 0 and 100. Information on parental highbrow cultural behavior was obtained through respondent reports on their parent's behavior during adolescence. Identical items, with identical answering categories, were presented. Again, a scale was constructed by simply averaging the scores and a standardization by a ranking procedure (α =. 79).

Table 1: Description of the Variables

	Mean	SD	Minimum	Maximum
Dependent Variables				
Respondent's education in years (6 = 0)	6.51	3.52	-1.00	15.00
Respondent's cultural behavior	50.70	28.72	5.29	99.99
Respondent's cultural possessions	50.30	25.68	29.74	99.95
Control Variables				
Sex (1 = women)	.50	.50	.00	1.00
Year of birth (1950 = 0)	5.67	12.22	-36.00	28.00
Year of survey (1998 = 0)	2.47	2.15	.00	5.00
Occupational status father (50 = 0)	-6.02	16.01	-40.00	40.00
Cultural Background				
Parental education in years (6 = 0)	4.25	3.57	.00	15.00
Parental cultural behavior	50.42	28.52	.47	99.98
Parental cultural possessions	50.12	24.19	33.49	99.75

Source: FSDP 1998, 2000 and 2003 (N = 4,809)

We chose to operationalize *objectified cultural capital* as the possession of certain cultural goods. Respondents were asked if they owned the following cultural objects: a piano (not electric), a violin and/or cello, old art objects (dated before 1900), modern art objects (dated after 1900) and antique furniture. Answers were yes or no. We constructed a scale by simply adding the scores (α = .55) and standardized the scale between 0 and 100 by a ranking procedure. The exact same set of items was asked with respect to the parents (α = .60). The fact that the alphas for the objectified state are not very high is due to the nature of the scale, which is in fact a simple count of the number of items people possess. As is often the case, material possessions that are expected to be owned by similar people do not necessarily go together at the individual level (for example, people owning a violin are not likely to also own a piano). Taken together, however, we think these items do indicate cultural wealth rather well.

We employed several controls. *Gender* was dichotomized (0 = men; 1 = women). A person's *birth year* was included as a continuous variable with values from 1914 to 1978. It was centered around 1950. We controlled for possible variation due to measurement year by including *survey year*, which was nullified at 1998. Finally, we controlled for father's occupational status at age 15 of the respondent employing the ISEI status scale (Ganzeboom et al. 1992). A description of all variables (mean, standard deviation, maximum and minimum) is presented in Table 1.

Analyses

Analytic Strategy

Simple OLS regression was used to analyze effects of parental cultural capital on educational attainment (institutionalized), cultural behavior (embodied) and cultural

possessions (objectified). In tables 2, 3 and 4, Model 1 is a baseline model with parental educational level as the only indicator of parental cultural capital. In models 2 and 3 we add parental cultural behavior and their possession of cultural goods, respectively. This allows us to assess the intergenerational transmission of all states of cultural capital. Furthermore, we establish to what extent the various effects of parental cultural capital are mediated by other states. Model 4 includes the relevant effects of respondents' own cultural capital, since effects of parental cultural capital on respondents' embodied or objectified cultural capital might well be at least partly explained by respondents' levels of education or cultural participation. We have checked

Table 2: Regression of Respondent's Education in Years on Three States of Parental Cultural Capital

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 5		
	B		β	B		β	B		β	B		β
Control Variables												
Sex (woman = 1)	-.667	***	-.095	-.669	***	-.095	-.667	***	-.095	-.670	***	-.095
	(.090)			(.089)			(.089)			(.088)		
Year of birth (1950 = 0)	.051	***	.178	.050	***	.174	.051	***	.176	.093	***	.322
	(.004)			(.004)			(.004)			(.009)		
Year of survey (1998 = 0)	-.107	***	-.065	-.087	***	-.053	-.087	***	-.053	-.085	***	-.052
	(.021)			(.021)			(.021)			(.021)		
Occupational status father (50 = 0)	.024	***	.111	.015	***	.068	.014	***	.065	.015	***	.066
	(.003)			(.003)			(.003)			(.003)		
Cultural Background												
Parental education in years (6 = 0)	.305	***	.309	.236	***	.239	.231	***	.235	.254	***	.258
	(.015)			(.016)			(.017)			(.017)		
Parental cultural behavior				.023	***	.183	.022	***	.177	.024	***	.195
				(.002)			(.002)			(.002)		
Parental cultural possesions							.003		.022	.004		.026
							(.002)			(.002)		
Interactions of Year of Birth												
*With parental education in years										-.005	***	-.095
										(.001)		
*With parental cultural behavior										-.000	**	-.087
										(.000)		
*With parental cultural possessions										-.000		-.009
										(.000)		
Constant	5.667	***		4.719	***		4.611	***		4.453	***	
	(.109)			(.133)			(.151)			(.157)		
Variance explained	.216			.240			.240			.248		

Source: FSDP 1998, 2000 and 2003 (N = 4,809).
*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

each full model (Model 4) for multicollinearity. The Variance Inflation Factor never exceeded 1.8, whereas only values above 2.5 may be a cause for concern. Finally, in Model 5, interactions of the three states of parental cultural capital with cohort are introduced in order to assess changes in cultural reproduction processes across time.

Results

Educational Attainment as Institutionalized Cultural Capital

Table 2 has the results for respondent's educational attainment (institutionalized cultural capital). Model 1 shows that men, people from younger birth cohorts and respondents whose father has a higher occupational status have higher schooling levels. In addition, the effect of year of survey is negative. This might indicate a small reversal of the trend towards educational expansion, but it might also reflect distinct selectivity in the samples over the years.

Parental education clearly has the largest impact on a respondent's educational attainment (β = .309). Obviously, highly educated parents provide their children with the ability, motivation and disposition to be successful in higher education. Although this parental schooling effect remains very significant, it is reduced to .239 when parental cultural behavior is added in Model 2 (a reduction of 23% if we compare unstandardized effects). In line with earlier studies, we find that parents' highbrow cultural participation enhances the odds of success at school. The standardized effect of the latter (β = .183) is only about 25 percent smaller than the standardized effect of parental education. Adding parents' cultural behavior increases the proportion of explained variance from 21.6 to 24 percent. It also reduces the impact of father's occupational status on children's educational success by about a third (38%). When parents' cultural possessions are added in Model 3, not much changes and the effect itself is not significant. It shows that these visible and valuable aspects of parental cultural capital do not contribute to a child's educational performance at school.

In Model 5, we study trends in the effects of parental cultural capital on the educational success of their children (institutionalized cultural capital). The already insignificant effect of parental cultural possessions does not vary with year of birth. However, two significant interactions with year of birth are present. First, the impact of parental education goes down as year of birth goes up. Among the younger generations, educational attainment is affected less by their parents' qualifications, which indicates increasing openness in education over time. Comparing the first and last cohort in our analysis, this makes up for a reduction of -.30 (64*-.00461) of the parental influence. In accordance with this trend towards openness, parents' cultural behavior has also become slightly less influential; the change is -.03 (64*-.00042).

Cultural Behavior as Embodied Cultural Capital

Table 3 shows a similar sequence of models, but now with respondents' cultural behavior as the dependent variable. Compared to Table 2, we have one additional

Table 3: Regression of Respondent's Cultural Behavior on Three States of Parental Cultural Capital, (un-) Standardized Coefficients

	Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4		Model 5	
	B	β	B	β	B	β	B	β	B	β
Control Variables										
Sex (woman = 1)	9.090 ***	.158	9.045 ***	.157	9.100 ***	.158	11.156 ***	.194	11.166 ***	.194
	(.760)		(.708)		(.707)		(.656)		(.656)	
Year of birth (1950 = 0)	-.389 ***	-.166	-.410 ***	-.175	-.401 ***	-.171	-.557 ***	-.237	-.568 ***	-.242
	(.033)		(.030)		(.030)		(.029)		(.067)	
Year of survey (1998 = 0)	.334	.025	.694 ***	.052	.699 ***	.052	.967 ***	.072	.971 ***	.073
	(.179)		(.167)		(.167)		(.154)		(.154)	
Occupational status father (50 = 0)	.289 ***	.161	.119 ***	.067	.107 ***	.060	.063 *	.035	.064 *	.036
	(.028)		(.027)		(.027)		(.025)		(.025)	
Cultural Background										
Parental education in years (6 = 0)	2.094 ***	.261	.870 ***	.108	.764 ***	.095	.051	.006	.121	.015
	(.130)		(.129)		(.131)		(.124)		(.131)	
Parental cultural behavior			.403 ***	.400	.386 ***	.384	.319 ***	.317	.327 ***	.325
			(.015)		(.015)		(.014)		(.015)	
Parental cultural possesions					.071 ***	.060	.062 **	.052	.046 **	.039
					(.017)		(.015)		(.017)	
Individual Cultural Capital										
Education in years (6 = 0)							3.082 ***	.378	3.066 ***	.376
							(.106)		(.106)	
Interactions of Year of Birth										
*With parental education in years									-.012	-.030
									(.009)	
*With parental cultural behavior									-.002	-.040
									(.001)	
*With parental cultural possessions									.003 *	.067
									(.001)	
Constant	40.389 ***		23.496 ***		21.055 ***		6.840 ***		7.203 ***	
	(.923)		(1.063)		(1.206)		(1.215)		(1.254)	
Variance explained	.162		.272		.275		. 383		.384	

Source: FSDP 1998, 2000 and 2003 (N = 4,809).

*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

model (Model 4), in which respondent's own schooling level is added as a predictor. This time, the impact of gender is positive, indicating that women are more culturally active than men, and year of birth has a negative effect. Although people from more recent birth cohorts are more highly educated (Table 2), they are less culturally active. In Model 1, the effect of survey year is insignificant, whereas father's occupational status has a positive impact; children from high-status families participate more in highbrow culture themselves later in life.

Parental education is highly relevant for explaining a respondent's cultural behavior. This time, however, parental cultural behavior (β = .400) is much more important than parental education (β = .108), as Model 2 demonstrates. Adding parents' cultural behavior reduces the effects of both their schooling level (59%) and father's occupational status (58%) substantially. At the same time, the proportion of explained variance shoots up from 16.2 to 27.2 percent. The year of survey effect becomes significantly positive, obviously because respondents have reported lower levels of parental cultural activity in the more recent surveys.

Parental cultural possessions, which are added in Model 3, have a small but positive effect on respondents' cultural behavior (β = .060). The experience of having highbrow cultural goods in the parental home during childhood enhances adult cultural participation. Adding these possessions diminishes the effects of the other two forms of parental cultural capital (and of father's occupational status) only slightly (with 12% for parental education and 4% for parental cultural behavior). Some 64 percent of the initial effect of parental education on respondent's cultural behavior is mediated by the other two aspects of parents' cultural capital. The introduction of respondent's schooling level in Model 4 reduces this parental education effect to insignificance. A person's own educational success turns out to be the most important predictor of her or his cultural behavior (β = .378), but parental cultural behavior follows closely (β = .317). Also, the impact of parents' cultural possessions remains significant (β = .062), indicating the additional value of looking at aspects of objectified cultural capital in the reproduction process. Adding respondent's education greatly increased the R-Square to .383. The findings from Model 4 lend support to our hypotheses on the role of parental features in the intergenerational transmission of resources. Although this process is partly indirect, through a person's own education, aspects of the parental embodied and objectified cultural capital have a substantial and lasting impact.

We have decided to limit the control variables pertaining to respondents' own situation in Model 4 to indicators of their cultural capital. This enhances the consistency of our models across the different dependent variables, it limits the loss of cases due to missing values, and it allows us to show the total effects of cultural capital, which are relevant for ascertaining the strength of intergenerational cultural reproduction. However, one may wonder whether additional status indicators affect respondents' embodied cultural capital (and their cultural possessions) as well, or mediate part of the impact of their cultural capital. Although we do not

present the results in full here, we did check for this by adding household income and occupational status of respondent's last job to Model 4 (leading to a loss of 296 cases due to missing variables). The unstandardized effect of respondent's education diminished with some 20 percent from 3.082 to 2.443 (β = .298), but it remained highly significant. Both household income (β = .059) and occupational status (β = .165) had positive effects, thus contributing to cultural participation, although sex, year of birth and schooling remained by far the most important intra-generational determinants of embodied cultural capital.

In Model 5, trends in the effects of parental cultural capital turn out to be modest at best. The effects of parental institutionalized and embodied cultural capital do not vary over birth cohorts. This illustrates stability in the process of passing on cultural behavior from one generation to the next; a development toward more openness has not occurred here (yet). The effect of parental cultural possessions, however, does change with year of birth. Comparing the first and last cohort, the effect increases with .17 (64*.00269), indicating that ownership of high-brow cultural goods has become slightly more effective in boosting children's taste for legitimate culture.

Results: Cultural Possessions as Objectified Cultural Capital

The results for cultural possessions are shown in Table 4. According to Model 1, respondents with more highly educated parents and a father with a higher occupational status have more cultural possessions. Gender and year of survey do not make a difference, but people from the older birth cohorts own more cultural goods. Note that this cohort effect probably refers to the accumulation of goods over the life course.

In Model 2 of Table 4, parental cultural behavior is added (β = .229). Having culturally active parents leads to more cultural possessions later in life. Moreover, it mediates the effects of parental schooling and father's occupational status by some 40 percent. Model 3, however, demonstrates that parental cultural possessions are the most relevant parental type of cultural capital for explaining the amount of objectified cultural capital of their children (β = .302). Although all effects found in Model 2 remain significant, the parameters for father's occupational status and parents' institutionalized and embodied cultural capital are seriously reduced. Model 4 demonstrates that the impact of parents' education and their cultural behavior is mediated by respondents' own cultural capital. But even after having introduced respondents' schooling levels and cultural participation, parents' cultural possessions remain the best predictor of respondents' cultural possessions (β = .283). This finding demonstrates that (a preference for) cultural possessions can be carried over from one generation to the next irrespective of parents' and respondent's levels of cultural behavior.[3]

In addition, we can see in Model 5 that the impact of parental cultural possessions does not change with year of birth. The intergenerational inheritance of objectified cultural capital has remained stable over generations. Surprisingly, the

Table 4: Regression of Respondent's Cultural Possessions on Three States of Parental Cultural Capital

	Model 1			Model 2			Model 3			Model 4			Model 5		
	B		β	B		β	B		β	B		β	B		β
Control Variables															
Sex (woman = 1)	-.890 (.701)		-.017	-.913 (.687)		-.018	-.667 (.658)		-.013	-2.343 (.647)	***	-.046	-2.397 (.645)	***	-.047
Year of birth (1950 = 0)	-.403 (.030)	***	-.192	-.414 (.029)	***	-.197	-.373 (.028)	***	-.177	-.316 (.028)	***	-.150	.006 (.065)		.003
Year of survey (1998 = 0)	.033 (.165)		.003	.217 (.162)		.018	.236 (.155)		.020	.135 (.148)		.011	.147 (.148)		.012
Occupational status father (50 = 0)	.226 (.026)	***	.141	.139 (.026)	***	.087	.086 (.025)	***	.053	.049 (.024)	*	.030	.051 (.024)	*	.032
Cultural Background															
Parental education in years (6 = 0)	1.563 (.120)	***	.218	.937 (.125)	***	.130	.459 (.122)	***	.064	.094 (.119)		.013	.260 (.125)	*	.036
Parental cultural behavior				.206 (.014)	***	.229	.131 (.014)	***	.146	.021 (.014)		.023	.038 (.015)	*	.042
Parental cultural possesions							.321 (.016)	***	.302	.301 (.015)	***	.283	.310 (.016)	***	.292
Individual Cultural Capital															
Education in years (6 = 0)										.778 (.110)	***	.107	.712 (.110)	***	.098
Cultural behavior										.241 (.014)	***	.270	.239 (.014)	***	.268
Interactions of Year of Birth															
*With parental education in years													-.031 (.009)	***	-.087
*With parental cultural behavior													-.003 (.001)	**	-.079
*With parental cultural possessions													-.001 (.001)		-.029

effects in Table 4 of parents' education and cultural behavior show a declining impact, suggesting that democratization took place in the field of cultural goods.

Conclusion and Discussion

We have analyzed the impact of parental institutionalized, embodied and objectified cultural capital in the process of the intergenerational transmission of resources. For this purpose, we studied the effects of each of these three states of parental cultural capital on the accumulated cultural capital of their children and assessed how these effects changed over time. To answer our research questions, we employed representative data from the Netherlands (1998-2003) on 4,809 respondents. These surveys hold unique information on the three states of cultural capital for both respondents and their parents.

We found that a strong intergenerational transmission of cultural capital occurs. Highly educated parents (institutionalized capital) provide their children with the resources to do well in school. Parents who frequently engage in high-brow cultural activities (embodied capital) inculcate an interest in high-brow activities in their children. Parents rich in cultural goods are likely to have children who value cultural possessions as well. These processes of the intergenerational reproduction of specific states or manifestations of cultural capital predominantly occur directly, as can be seen when the individual characteristics of respondents (children) are included in the models.

Secondly, our models show some mediation of the transmission of resources via the other states of cultural capital. In the cases of parents' institutionalized capital (educational attainment) some mediation occurs through parents' high-brow cultural participation (embodied capital). Studies of the intergenerational reproduction of educational opportunities may overestimate the impact of parental schooling levels by some 25 percent. For respondents' high-brow cultural participation, the effect of parental institutionalized cultural capital is completely mediated by respondents' own schooling levels. For the possession of cultural goods, the effects of parental institutionalized and embodied capital are also completed mediated through individual schooling levels and cultural participation. Our analyses clearly underscore that intergenerational reproduction is a complex process of transmission that cannot be fully understood or adequately assessed unless the different states of parents' and their children's cultural capital that Bourdieu distinguished are

Constant	47.660	***	39.016	***	28.051	***	19.384	***	18.465	***
	(.851)		(1.030)		(1.123)		(1.168)		(1.201)	
Variance explained	.109		.145		.214		.291		.298	

Source: FSDP 1998, 2000 and 2003 (N = 4,809).
*p < .05 **p < .01 ***p < .001

taken into account. Additional computations have shown that the correlations between the three states of respondents' cultural capital are smaller among more recent cohorts.[4] This implies that, among younger generations, using a partial operationalization of cultural capital is becoming even more problematic due to its decreasing validity. We cannot say for sure, however, whether this change reflects an effect of age or of cohort, as our measurement waves are too close. It may be partly due to growing openness, but also to the fact that cultural possessions are likely to be accumulated during the life course and thus less related to the other states of cultural capital earlier in life.

Our results also suggest that, on the whole, the transmission of cultural capital is becoming weaker. Across cohorts, institutionalized cultural capital is decreasingly affected by both parents' education and cultural behavior, which indicates a significantly growing openness when it comes to achievement in higher education. With regard to the possession of high-brow cultural goods, a similar process of growing openness is observed. Here, the role of both the institutionalized and the embodied cultural capital of the parents decreased over the years. For the intergenerational reproduction of embodied cultural capital, no trend towards openness was discerned. If anything, we found evidence of a slight decrease due to an increasing effect of parents' objectified cultural capital.

Finally, what are we to make of our empirical distinction between Bourdieu's three states or manifestations of the cultural capital concept? Should we perhaps start speaking of cultural capitals in the plural? It is clear that our distinction between the three states of the concept has allowed us to discern different effects and different trends for each state. On the other hand, the states are interrelated (perhaps decreasingly so), albeit to different extents. Based on our results, we might say that embodied cultural capital is the most central manifestation of cultural capital. Parental embodied cultural capital affects respondents' education and their cultural behavior. Respondents' own embodied cultural capital is also a very powerful determinant of their cultural possessions. It is therefore strongly linked to all manifestations of the concept. The central role of embodied cultural capital probably lies in the fact that it shares its cognitive or experiential component with institutionalized cultural capital and its taste-related component with objectified cultural capital. That is what makes it strong also as a predictor of other states of cultural capital, or as an explanation for intergenerational correlations. The institutionalized and objectified states are least intergenerationally related: parental possessions do not affect children's education nor does parental education affect children's possessions.

In addition, embodied cultural capital does not seem to become less important. This can be understood if we realize that it takes shape from the moment parents and children start interacting. Its transmission will not be reduced unless parents invest less of themselves into their kids. It is the only state of cultural capital that is transmitted almost automatically as children observe their parents' everyday behaviors, judgments, opinions, emotions and so on. Even if the role of peers or

media in taste formation ever outstrips the direct impact of the parents, we do not expect the effect of parental cultural capital on children's taste to diminish substantially. A large indirect effect, and thus a large correlation, is likely to remain because parents affect which peers children associate with and which programs or media they are likely to use. Educational mobility is only likely to be fostered when the relation between embodied and institutionalized cultural capital diminishes at the intra- and inter-generational level because the inter-generational transmission of embodied cultural capital is a process that is hardly amenable by social policy. Although respondents' schooling levels are becoming less dependent on parental capital, the same cannot be said of their cultural behavior. This suggests that the student population in the higher educational segments is still increasing in cultural heterogeneity, as family background remains influential for cultural tastes.

Another theoretically relevant finding is that the possession of cultural goods does not imply a great knowledge of culture. After respondents' own resources are taken into account, the material appropriation of such goods depends only on parents' cultural goods, not on their schooling level or cultural behavior. This is surprising in light of Bourdieu's emphasis on the importance of the symbolic appropriation of such goods. Although objectified cultural capital is positively related to respondents' own institutionalized and embodied cultural capital, there also seems to exist an alternative mode of material appropriation that consists of direct inheritance, either of the goods themselves or of the inclination to acquire them. This relation does not decrease across cohorts either.

Finally, we do not want to suggest than any partial operationalization of cultural capital is unwarranted. Although the term is used very casually, scholars are obviously aware of the fact that they are in fact measuring only (a) specific part(s) of the concept. Nevertheless, scholars should be aware that intergenerational effects of parental education or cultural behavior on characteristics of their children are likely to be overestimated unless they are controlled for one another. The fact that the three states of cultural capital are so strongly related at both the inter- and the intra-generational level demonstrates once more that cultural inequality is very much present today and rather persistent.

Notes

1. We have 1,643 respondents (902 primary) from the 1998 wave, 1,321 respondents (705 primary) from the 2000 wave and 1,845 respondents (1,016 primary) from the 2003 wave, which makes 4,809 respondents. A cluster correction for the fact that primary and secondary respondents are nested in a single household did not change the results.
2. For respondents, the distinction between serious and popular theatre and between historical and art museums was not possible in 2003. To ensure comparability, we constructed the scales separately for the 2003 wave (on three items) and the 1998-2000 waves (on five items) and collapsed them after standardization. We controlled if a scale with three items yielded different results, which was not the case.

3. We checked again what happened to Model 4 if household income and status of last job were included. The effect of respondents' education declined with 23 percent (from .778 to .600) while the effect of cultural behavior went down with only 5 percent (from .241 to .229). Although the impact of job status was barely significant ($p = .041$), the effect of household income ($\beta = .066$) was highly significant and amounted to some 80 percent of the effect of educational attainment ($\beta = .082$).
4. To assess changes in the interdependency of the three indicators of respondents' cultural capital, we computed four cohorts (respondents born before 1940, from 1940 until 1955, from 1955 to 1970 and after 1970). Moving from the oldest to the youngest cohort, the correlations between institutionalized and embodied cultural capital were .530, .469, .461 and .395 respectively. For the correlation between institutionalized and objectified cultural capital the numbers were .419, .332, .283 and .147. Finally, correlations between embodied and objectified cultural capital were .434, .450, .398 and .327. All of these correlations were highly significant.

References

Anheier, Helmut K., Sally Stares and Paola Grenier. 2004. "Social Capital and Life Satisfaction." Pp. 81-108. *European Values at the Turn of the Millennium.* Wil Arts and Loek Halman, editors. Brill.

Aschaffenburg, Karen, and Ineke Maas. 1997. "Cultural and Educational Careers: The Dynamics of Social Reproduction." *American Sociological Review* 62(4):573-87.

Bandura, Albert, and Richard H. Walters. 1963. *Social Learning and Personality Development*. Holt, Rinehart and Winston.

Beck, Ulrich. 1992. *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*. Sage.

Bernstein, Basil. 1977. "Class and Pedagogies: Visible and Invisible." Pp. 511-34. *Power and Ideology in Education*. Jerome Karabel and Albert H. Halsey, editors. Oxford University Press.

Bottero, Wendy. 2004. "Class Identities and the Identity of Class." *Sociology* 38(5):985-1003.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1977. "Cultural Reproduction and Social Reproduction." Pp. 487-511. *Power and Ideology in Education*. Jerome Karabel and Albert H. Halsey, editors. Oxford University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre, and Jean-Claude Passeron. 1977. *Reproduction in Education, Society and Culture.* Sage.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1984. *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste*. Routledge and Kegan.

_____. 1985. "The Market of Symbolic Goods." *Poetics* 14(1-2):13-44.

_____. 1986. "The Forms of Capital." Pp. 241-58. *The Handbook for Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*. John G. Richardson, editor. Greenwood Publishing Group.

Bryson, Bethany. 1996. "'Anything but Heavy Metal': Symbolic Exclusion and Musical Dislikes." *American Sociological Review* 61(5):884-99.

Connell, Robert W. 2004. "Working-Class Parents' Views of Secondary Education." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 8(3):227-39.

Coulangeon, Philippe, and Yannick Lemel. 2007. "Is 'Distinction' really Outdated? Questioning the Meaning of the Omnivorization of Musical Taste in Contemporary France." *Poetics* 35(2-3):93-111.

De Graaf, Nan Dirk, Paul M. de Graaf and Gerbert Kraaykamp. 2000. "Parental Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment in the Netherlands: A Refinement of the Cultural Capital Perspective." *Sociology of Education* 73(2):92-111.

De Graaf, Nan Dirk, Paul de Graaf, Gerbert Kraaykamp and Wout Ultee. 1998. *Family Survey Dutch Population 1998*. Nijmegen, the Netherlands: Nijmegen University.

_____. 2000. *Family Survey Dutch Population 2000*. Nijmegen, the Netherlands: Nijmegen University.

_____. 2003. *Family Survey Dutch Population 2003*. Nijmegen, the Netherlands: Nijmegen University.

De Graaf, Paul M. 1986. "The Impact of Financial and Cultural Resources on Educational Attainment in the Netherlands." *Sociology of Education* 59(4):237-46.

De Graaf, Paul M., and Harry B.G. Ganzeboom. 1993. "Family Background and Educational Achievement in the Netherlands of Birth Cohorts 1891-1960." Pp. 75-99. *Persistent Inequality: Changing Educational Attainment in Thirteen Countries*. Yossi Shavit and Hans-Peter Blossfeld, editors. Westview Press.

De Vries, Jannes, and Paul M. de Graaf. 2008. "Is the Intergenerational Transmission of High Cultural Activities Biased by the Retrospective Measurement of Parental High Cultural Activities?" *Social Indicators Research* 85(2):311-27.

Deary, Ian J., Steve Strand, Pauline Smith and Cres Fernandez. 2007. "Intelligence and Educational Achievement." *Intelligence* 35(1):13-21.

DiMaggio, Paul, and Michael Useem. 1978. "Social Class and Arts Consumption: The Origins and Consequences of Class Differences in Exposure to the Arts in America." *Theory and Society* 5(2):141-61.

DiMaggio, Paul. 1982. "Cultural Capital and School Success: The Impact of Status Culture Participation on the Grades of U.S. High School Students." *American Sociological Review* 47(2):189-201.

DiMaggio, Paul, and Toqir Mukhtar. 2004. "Arts Participation as Cultural Capital in the United States: Signs of Decline?" *Poetics* 32(2):169-94.

Erickson, Bonny H. 1996. "Culture, Class, and Connections." *American Journal of Sociology* 102(1):217-52.

Featherstone, Mike. 1991. *Consumer Culture and Postmodernism*. Sage.

Ganzeboom, Harry B.G., Paul M. de Graaf and Peter Robert. 1990. "Cultural Reproduction Theory on Socialist Ground: Intergenerational Transmission of Inequalities in Hungary." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 9(1):70-104.

Ganzeboom, Harry B.G., Paul M. de Graaf and Donald J. Treiman. 1992. "A Standard International Socio-Economic Index of Occupational Status." *Social Science Research* 21(1):1-56.

Hango, Darcy. 2007. "Parental Investment in Childhood and Educational Qualifications: Can Greater Parental Involvement Mediate the Effects of Socioeconomic Disadvantage?" *Social Science Research* 36(4):1371-90.

Holt, Douglas B. 1997. "Poststructuralist Lifestyle Analysis: Conceptualizing the Social Patterning of Consumption in Postmodernity." *Journal of Consumer Research* 23(4):326-50.

Jeynes, William H. 2005. "A Meta-Analysis of the Relation of Parental Involvement to Urban Elementary School Student Academic Achievement." *Urban Education* 40(3):237-69.

Kalmijn, Matthijs, and Gerbert Kraaykamp. 1996. "Race, Cultural Capital, and Schooling: An Analysis of Trends in the United States." *Sociology of Education* 69(1):22-34.

Kellner, Douglas. 1995. *Media Culture: Cultural Studies, Identity and Politics between the Modern and the Postmodern*. Routledge.

Kingston, Paul W. 2001. "The Unfulfilled Promise of Cultural Capital Theory." *Sociology of Education* 77(Extra Issue):88-99.

Kraaykamp, Gerbert, and Paul Nieuwbeerta. 2000. "Parental Background and Lifestyle Differentiation: Social, Political and Cultural Intergenerational Transmission in Five Former Socialist Societies." *Social Science Research* 29(1):92-122.

Kraaykamp, Gerbert. 2003. "Literary Socialization and Reading Preferences: Effects of Parents, the Library, and the School." *Poetics* 31(3-4):235-57.

Kraaykamp, Gerbert, Koen van Eijck, Wout Ultee and Kees van Rees. 2007. "Status and Media Use in the Netherlands: Do Partners Affect Media Tastes?" *Poetics* 35(2-3):132-51.

Lamont, Michèle, and Annette Lareau. 1988. "Cultural Capital: Allusions, Gaps and Glissandos in Recent Theoretical Developments." *Sociological Theory* 6(2):153-68.

Lamont, Michèle. 1992. *Money, Morals, and Manners: The Culture of the French and the American Upper-Middle Class*. University of Chicago Press.

Lareau, Annette, and Elliot B. Weininger. 2003. "Cultural Capital in Educational Research: A Critical Assessment." *Theory and Society* 32(5-6):567-606.

Lenski, Gerhard. 1966. *Power and Privilege*. McGraw-Hill.

Lizardo, Omar. 2008. "The Question of Culture Consumption and Stratification Revisited." *Sociologica* 2(2):1-31.

Lizardo, Omar, and Sara Skiles. 2008. "Cultural Consumption in the Fine and Popular Arts Realms." *Sociology Compass* 2(2):485-502.

Mohr, John, and Paul M. DiMaggio. 1995. "The Intergenerational Transmission of Cultural Capital." *Research in Social Stratification and Mobility* 14:167-99.

Pellerin, Lisa A., and Elizabeth Stearns. 2001. "Status Honor and the Valuing of Cultural and Material Capital." *Poetics* 29(1):1-24.

Peterson, R.A. 1992. "Understanding Audience Segmentation: From Elite and Mass to Omnivore and Univore." *Poetics* 21(4):243-58.

Plomin, Robert, and Frank M. Spinath. 2002. "Genetics and General Cognitive Ability (g)." *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 6(4):169-76.

Packard, Vance. 1959. *The Status Seekers: An Exploration of Class Behavior in America and the Hidden Barriers that affect You, Your Community, Your Future*. David McKay.

Pakulski, Jan, and Malcolm Waters. 1996. *The Death of Class*. Sage.

Ratelle, Catherine F., Simon Larose, Frédéric Guay and Caroline Senécal. 2005. "Perceptions of Parental Involvement and Support as Predictors of College Students' Persistence in a Science Curriculum." *Journal of Family Psychology* 19(2):286-93.

Rifkin, Jeremy. 2000. *The Age of Access: The New Culture of Hypercapitalism where All of Life is a Paid-for Experience*. Tarcher/Putnam.

Robinson, Robert V., and Maurice A. Garnier. 1985. "Class Reproduction among Men and Women in France: Reproduction Theory on its Home Ground." *American Journal of Sociology* 91(2):250-80.

Sennett, Richard. 1998. *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*. Norton.

Sirin, Selçuk R. 2005. "Socioeconomic Status and Academic Achievement: A Meta-Analytic Review of Research." *Review of Educational Research* 75(3):417-53.

Sullivan, Alice. 2001. "Cultural Capital and Educational Attainment." *Sociology* 35(4):893-912.

Van de Werfhorst, Herman, and Saskia Hofstede. 2007. "Cultural Capital or Relative Risk Aversion? Two Mechanisms for Educational Inequality Compared." *The British Journal of Sociology* 58(3):391-415.

Van Eijck, Koen. 1997. "The Impact of Family Background and Educational Attainment on Cultural Consumption: A Sibling Analysis." *Poetics* 25(4):195-224.

_____. 1999. "Socialization, Education, and Lifestyle: How Social Mobility Increases the Cultural Heterogeneity of Status Groups." *Poetics* 26(5-6):309-28.

Van Eijck, Koen, and Bertine Bargeman. 2004. "The Changing Impact of Social Background on Lifestyle: Culturalization instead of Individualization?" *Poetics* 32(6):447-69.

Van Eijck, Koen, and Wim Knulst. 2005. "No More Need for Snobbism: Highbrow Cultural Participation in a Taste Democracy." *European Sociological Review* 21(5):513-28.

Veblen, Thorstein. 1953[1899]. *The Theory of the Leisure Class: An Economic Study of Institutions*. Mentor.

Warde, Alan. 1997. *Consumption, Food and Taste: Culinary Antinomies and Commodity Culture*. Sage.

Willis, Paul E. 1977. *Learning to Labour: How Working Class Kids get Working Class Jobs*. Saxon House.